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concern, to take council of one another, or, in other words, to exercise a joint sovereignty which is beyond the field of national sovereignty, and which no nation can exercise alone. It is only within the realm of these common problems that it is proposed that a congress or parliament of the nations should act. The purely local affairs of every nation would remain as absolutely under its own control as they are to-day, and in its sphere its sovereignty and independence would be unimpaired.

The movement already practically inaugurated for the creation of a congress such as is here suggested — a congress, that is, with only advisory powers at first — has made extraordinary progress since its initiation four years ago. In February, 1903, on the petition of the American Peace Society, R. L. Bridgman and others, the Massachusetts Legislature passed unanimously, in both Houses, the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be requested to authorize the President of the United States to invite the governments of the world to join in establishing, in whatever way they may judge expedient, an international congress, to meet at stated periods, to deliberate on questions of common interest to the nations and to make recommendations thereon to the governments."

In a letter to the President of the American Peace Society, on March 2 of that year, Hon. John L. Bates, then Governor of Massachusetts, wrote:

"HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE,

President of the American Peace Society, Boston, Mass.

"In reply to your favor of February 27, permit me to state that the Resolutions of the General Court of this Commonwealth, requesting Congress to authorize the President of the United States to invite the governments of the world to join in establishing a regular International Congress, have my most cordial endorsement.

"The idea of a parliament of man, at first considered visionary, is becoming accepted in this swift-moving age as something not only possible of attainment, but, on the contrary, as quite probable in the future. Every effort to this end is in the interest of progressive civilization and of humanity.

"Permit me to congratulate the American Peace Society on its persistent efforts to this end, and believe me,

"Yours sincerely, JOHN L. BATES."

The resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature was duly presented to Congress and referred to the Committees on Foreign Relations. A hearing was given by the House Committee to the friends of the proposal, and a good deal of interest was manifested among its members. The matter was, however, never reported to the House.

In the meantime this resolution had received the support of many eminent men in business and other circles. It has been taken up by the Mohonk Arbitration Conference and incorporated into its platform for two successive years. The Interparliamentary Union at St. Louis in 1904 unanimously endorsed it, and proposed it to President Roosevelt as one of the principal subjects that ought to be put on the program of a second Hague Conference, the calling of which the Union urged upon the President. The next year at Brussels the Interparliamentary Conference considered the subject again and referred it to a special commission to study in detail. The result of this commission's work and of the action thereon of the Union at its conference in London last July is that the Interparliamentary organization — the most authoritative unofficial body of men in the world — is urging, as the first and most practicable step toward the realization of this great demand of our age, that the

Hague Conference itself be made hereafter a permanent body to meet periodically and automatically. The International Peace Congress, representing a wide constituency in all the civilized nations, has also twice voted its approval of the Massachusetts Legislature's proposal. One of our greatest weekly journals, *The Independent*, of New York, not to mention others, has for some three years' past been giving the subject its able and conspicuous endorsement. The Governor and all the justices of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, statesmen and diplomats at home and abroad, like Andrew D. White and William I. Buchanan, jurists, leaders of great business organizations, etc., have frankly avowed their belief that the proposal is wise and timely and capable of early practical realization.

The proposition has, in fact, met with no serious objection. On the contrary, it has had prompt and strong support wherever its nature and significance have become understood. Among the four or five leading subjects which are now being emphasized and urged, from all quarters, for the program of the coming Hague Conference, this is invariably one. Only two others share with it in prominence and urgency of demand, a general treaty of obligatory arbitration and the limitation of armaments.

It is on these three great measures that the second Hague Conference will probably concentrate its thought and its wisdom. And as this subject of a regular international assembly, in the form proposed, has met with fewer objections than either of the others, it would not be surprising if in the deliberations of the Conference it should assume the first place, as the subject of a permanent international tribunal did in the first Conference, and the nations be given the beginnings of a world assembly or parliament, as they already have the beginnings of a world court of justice. The two institutions belong together and it will not be long until they are operating side by side, in the high interests of international justice and international peace.

The Cost of War.

It is very difficult to put into figures, in any satisfactory way, the cost of war. The losses in life, in money, in destruction of property, in the derangement of business, in the curtailing of productive industry, in the impairment of health and the power to labor, are so great and have ramifications in so many directions that anything more than approximate estimates of the economic losses caused by war are impossible. The following figures and statements, which have been prepared because of the large demand for information as to the cost of war in men, money, etc., must therefore be taken with reserve, as only giving in a general way the information desired.

LOSS OF LIFE.

It has been estimated that the aggregate loss of life, in all the wars which have occurred since the beginning of authentic history, has been not less than 15,000,000,000. This is probably far under the actual losses, as in the earlier centuries wars were incessant and even more pitiless and murderous than those of modern times, when many of the horrors attendant upon battles and campaigns have been suppressed. This vast number of 15,000,000,000 slain in war is equal probably to all the

people who have inhabited the globe for the last six hundred years, allowing three generations to the century, and 650,000,000, the estimated population of the world at the opening of the nineteenth century, as the average population per generation for the six centuries.

The usual estimate of the number of men lost in war in the nineteenth century, including those who died of wounds and disease, places it at 14,000,000. Of this number the Napoleonic campaigns, extending from 1796 to 1815, are responsible for about six millions (seven millions some estimate it), not less than two and a half millions (Lafayette said three millions) of whom were Frenchmen, the very flower of the young manhood of the nation. The other three and a half millions were Italians, Germans, Austrians, Russians, Englishmen, Spaniards, Turks, Arabs, etc.

At the close of the Napoleonic wars there was a period of forty years of general peace in Europe, and another similar period at the end of the century. These two periods of European peace, amounting to seventy years, made the loss of life in war in the nineteenth century far less than it had been in preceding centuries, when war in Europe was practically incessant.

The war of 1812 to 1814 between the United States and Great Britain cost the two countries not less than 50,000 men in killed and wounded, and probably more.

The war between the United States and Mexico waged from 1846 to 1848 resulted in the loss of at least 50,000 men, the majority of whom, on the United States side, perished from disease.

The Crimean war of 1854 to 1856, in which France, England, Piedmont, Turkey and Russia took part, cost the five nations at least 785,000 men, nearly 600,000 of whom (Russians more particularly) died from sickness and suffering occasioned by the long, hard marches and exposure in other ways.

In the Italian war of 1859, Austria, France and Piedmont, the three countries engaged, lost 63,000 men. Besides this the Franco-Sardinian army alone had over 100,000 soldiers disabled by disease.

The short Schleswig-Holstein war in 1864 resulted in the loss of 3,500 men to Denmark, Prussia and Austria.

The losses in the American Civil War, 1861 to 1865, have been variously estimated, for the North and the South together, at from 800,000 to 1,000,000. The latter figure is probably none too large to cover all the deaths, including those from wounds and disease, and the permanently disabled.

The brief war between Prussia, Austria and Italy in 1866 entailed a loss of 45,000 men.

In the European expeditions, from 1861 to 1867, to Mexico, Morocco, Cochin China, Lebanon, Paraguay, etc., no less than 65,000 men were sacrificed.

In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 and 1871, one of the swiftest and most terrible conflicts of modern times, the aggregate losses on both sides amounted to not less than 225,000 men, and probably the number was considerably larger, the French losses being about twice as great as those of Germany.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 was quite as deadly as that between France and Germany, and the losses reached a total of fully a quarter of a million.

The Zulu and Afghan wars of 1879 left a list of 40,000 lives destroyed.

Of the walk-over war between Japan and China in 1894 and 1895 no accurate statistics have ever been attainable. But in the various battles on land, in which the Japanese cannon and rifles did cruel execution, and in the great naval battle off the mouth of the Yalu river, in which the Chinese navy was practically destroyed, the total number of killed and wounded could not have been much less than 15,000.

The Boer war of 1899 to 1901 between Great Britain and the two South African Republics cost England alone 100,000 men in killed and wounded. The Boer losses were much less, but probably totaled 25,000 or 30,000, and have by some been placed, including the women and children done to death in the reconcentration camps, as high as 40,000.

In the Spanish-American war in 1898, in which the only serious fighting was in the brief campaign at Santiago, the sea battle off the mouth of the harbor and that of Manila Bay, in which the Spanish vessels were destroyed by the United States fleets, the loss of life was not large, and probably amounted on both sides, including the deaths of the United States soldiers from disease, to not more than 6,000 men. The Philippine aftermath of this war was much more destructive. It cost the lives of from five to ten thousand United States soldiers, many of whom died from the effects of the climate, and of the Filipinos it has been estimated that from half a million to a million perished in the "battles," the "punitive expeditions," the reconcentration camps, the village burnings and butcheries, etc.

It is impossible to give in detail any trustworthy statement of the loss of life in a large number of wars, less or greater, of the nineteenth century incident to the operations of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Holland, Spain, etc., in their colonial enterprises in different parts of the world. The "weaker races" and native governments have given us no returns of the numbers slain in their uneven conflicts with "civilized" armies. It is well known that these losses have often been very great, amounting in certain instances to wholesale massacres.

The two British opium wars with China, the Sepoy and other wars in India, the Russian movements in Asia, the recent Thibet expedition, the French-Chinese hostilities, the Dutch operations in East India, the Madagascar campaigns, the British expeditions up the Nile and into other parts of Africa, in which natives were "mowed down like grass," the Italian-Abyssinian wars, the Colonial wars of Great Britain, Portugal and Germany in South Africa, the West African exploitations of England, France and Germany, to say nothing of the deeds of the Congo State, the tribal wars in Africa and in parts of Asia, the civil and international wars in South and Central America, the Spanish operations in Cuba, the revolutions in the West Indies, the wars in Hawaii, Samoa, and the other islands of the seas, the Indian wars in the United States,—who can ever reckon up the millions of human beings,—men, women and children,—destroyed in these endless "wars and fightings!" If we add these unnumbered dead to the nearly nine millions set down for the better-known wars mentioned above, we shall probably have gone far beyond the 14,000,000 estimated for the nineteenth century.

The great losses of Russia and Japan in the recent

Manchurian war have now become pretty well known. They are frightful. The returns made by the Japanese War Office show 218,000 (roundly speaking) killed, wounded, missing and injured by accident, and 221,000 who died, or were invalided home, by disease, making a total of 439,000 casualties. Of these, 137,000 invalided men recovered. If we allow 52,000 more of the wounded and invalided men to have finally recovered, we have a residuum of 250,000 Japanese killed or permanently disabled by the war. The Russian figures are given as 151,000 killed, wounded and missing, exclusive of the Port Arthur casualties, which were so heavy. The total Russian losses, therefore, including those at Port Arthur and those who died from disease and exposure, will certainly surpass the Japanese, and may safely be put at 300,000, making the joint sacrifice of life of the two nations 550,000 men.

DIRECT COST IN MONEY.

Turning now to the cost of these wars in money, the figures are staggering, and would be more so if they could be fully obtained. Only approximate correctness is claimed for the following statements:

The Napoleonic campaigns, covering nineteen years, in which France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, Russia, Turkey were involved, \$15,000,000,000.

The British-American war of 1812-14, \$300,000,000.

The United States-Mexican war, 1846 to 1848, \$180,000,000.

The Crimean war, 1854 to 1856, \$1,666,000,000.

The Italian war of 1859, \$294,000,000.

Schleswig-Holstein war of 1864, \$34,000,000.

The American Civil war of 1861 to 1865, North and South, \$8,000,000,000. (A recent estimate places the cost of this war, including pensions since paid, at \$13,000,000,000.)

The Prussian-Austrian war of 1866, \$325,000,000.

The Expeditions to Mexico, Morocco, Cochin China, etc., 1861 to 1867, \$200,000,000.

The Franco-Prussian war of 1870 to 1871, \$2,500,000,000.

The Russo-Turkish war of 1877, \$1,100,000,000.

The Zulu and Afghan wars of 1879, \$150,000,000.

The China-Japan war of 1894 to 1895, \$60,000,000.

The British-Boer war of 1899 to 1901, \$1,300,000,000. (Great Britain, \$1,250,000,000; Boer Republics [estimated], \$50,000,000.)

The Spanish-American-Philippine war of 1898 to 1902, \$800,000,000. (To the United States for five years [Edward Atkinson's estimate], \$700,000,000; to Spain and the Philippines [estimated], \$100,000,000.)

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904 to 1905, \$1,735,000,000. (To Russia, \$935,000,000; to Japan, \$800,000,000.)

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

New Books.

NEWER IDEALS OF PEACE. By Jane Addams. New York: The Macmillan Company. 12mo, half leather; price, \$1.25 net.

This book, the ripe product of Miss Addams' observation and thinking, has been long expected, and is a most valuable addition to the literature of peace in its broadest social sense.

Miss Addams' studies have been made, as she says in her Prefatory Note, "in the industrial quarter of a cosmopolitan city where the morality exhibits marked social and international aspects." She proceeds from the industrial and social point of view, but she finds in this field such a development of the new social forces as she believes will at last "extinguish the possibility of battle at its very source."

She does not, we think, in emphasizing the Newer Ideals, do full justice to the older form of peace propaganda, which, though it devoted much energy to denunciation of the evil of war, never failed to point out the constructive measures necessary to secure and maintain peace, and laid strong emphasis at times on the social and industrial aspects of the question, as well as upon the great heroisms of common life furnishing an outlet to the pent-up energies of human nature. The older advocates of peace did not use the social forces in their propaganda so much as is possible now only because these forces were not then so well developed and strongly operative as they are in present day society. The universal prevalence of the war system obstructed them, and this system had to be hammered out of public favor, and as far as possible out of existence, in order that human nature might have a chance to express itself in normal ways. The advocates of peace, many of them, were the first to see and to begin to "utilize the cosmopolitan interest in human affairs with the resultant social sympathy that at the present moment is developing among the nations of the earth." This was precisely the state of things which they were trying to bring about. Nearly all of the leading peace workers to-day lay emphasis in their speeches and writings on these social aspects of their cause, for precisely the same reason that Miss Addams does, and the newer ideals of peace have been added to the older in a perfectly natural way.

Miss Addams' chapter on "Survivals of Militarism in Civil Government" and the consequent noteworthy failure of American cities in their government is a very instructive discussion. So is the closing chapter on the "Passing of the War Virtues." The other chapters are all strong, as studies in social conditions, though they deal less nearly with the question of peace.

The book closes with this fine passage:

"The International Peace Conference held in Boston in 1904 was opened by a huge meeting in which men of influence and modern thought from four continents gave reasons for their belief in the passing of war. But none was so modern, so fundamental and so trenchant as the address which was read from the prophet Isaiah. He

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